

THE
S T A T E
O F
I R E L A N D,

Laid open to the VIEW

Of his MAJESTY's SUBJECTS.

CONTAINING,

Some NEW and INTERESTING ANECDOTES.

Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet.

Amicus Socrates, Amicus Plato, sed magis
Amica Veritas & Patria.

D U B L I N Printed;

L O N D O N reprinted, for J. BOUQUET,
at the *White Hart* in *Pater-noster-Row*.

M DCC LIV.

46
1 662 8



THE

S T A T E O F

I R E L A N D, &c.

BE the depravity of the times ever so enormous, Whigs there still are, and to such these lines are addressed.

WHEN divisions were wickedly raised between Whig and Tory, there was principle on one side, and somewhat like shew of principle on t'other side. Now we see men in his Majesty's service, for selfish purposes divide his Majesty's people, without shew of any principle, notoriously against all principle, except that detestable one of venality.

No Monarch rules a large body of Subjects, so perfectly united in affection as the Protestants of this Kingdom were, and I am persuaded still are, to his Majesty. Is it for his service, or can men be deemed his faithful servants, who take measures which unavoidably tend to disunite and break such a compact body of men? All resolutely determined, upon occasion, to die in support of his title. Statesmen, who upon any

B consideration,

consideration, whether of malice, lucre, or ambition, will impair such an important strength in the hands of their master, may be said to receive his wages, but not to serve him. I hope his Majesty will conclude, that those men do him most faithful service, who timely disclose to him the most important truths. This nation is still firmly tied to him by inclination, principle, and interest ; but not by any of these ties, bound to the joint banner of a fraudulent S---r, and a treacherous P---, who find means to rule the powers that ought to curb them, (expressive epithets are necessary to convey just representations.) They will follow his Majesty, but not follow leaders that they think are deceiving him and them. They will follow men that support their constitution, none that invade it, either by arms or treachery. Corruption is now introduced, as a new method of killing among us, not unlike poison.

GENEROUS sons of *Britain* ! look judiciously into our conduct; the steps that we have taken were unavoidable. We must suppress corruption, or it will suppress us. Perhaps you may be induced to look upon us, as friends rendered precarious, through the artful conduct of designing men ; you will find it otherwise, we are steady. Whatever pains has been taken to divide or pervert us, doubt it not, the Protestants of every denomination throughout this Kingdom will go all proper lengths to support the King and constitution.

WHEN every kind of deceit and falsehood is practised on this side the water, it must be expected, that a like spirit will by the same insidious junto be set at work in the next Kingdom. As there is general reason to be of this opinion, and particular reason to believe, that mercenary Emissaries have been of late designedly trans-

transported to *England*, in order to misrepresent, what of all things ought to be most truly represented, the conduct and disposition of his Majesty's Subjects; we, who by our situation, can see into the true, though dangerous state of the times, think it incumbent upon us to give some fair and free account of late transactions, partly to inform our countrymen at remote distance from the metropolis, but chiefly to undeceive our British brethren, who regard truth, and their own interest. A method that seems now to be our last, since private Subjects are discouraged to complain; our Representatives not suffered to meet, several of his Majesty's most able, and most faithful servants, are removed from places of trust, and some from council.

WHEN religion and virtue are assaulted, every man has a call from Heaven to defend them: When snares are laid for a community, every man should alarm his neighbour. The measures lately taken to deceive us, to mislead us, to intimidate us, to corrupt our morals, to put us upon betraying one another, are such as no christian state, at least, no free state can equal.

PREPARATORY schemes having been long and artfully laid for those extraordinary purposes, it will be necessary to cast our eyes a short space behind us, and review the past conduct of one extraordinary man among us, the more clearly to discern the nature of those dangers that still lie before us.

THIS very singular person, born as it were to make us mindful that Liberty may be lost, by events in their origin apparently insignificant; a naked adventurer, once destined for the sword, unfortunately for us, stumbled thence into the Church, and along with the gown assumed a smooth front and oily tongue, that would deceive even the elect. Affected to mind

nothing but a profession, which he had craft enough to pervert to his interest, he began his spiritual reign, with the deepest intrigue and dissimulation. 'Twas visible to all discerning men, several years ago, that he was underhand laying schemes to rule the nation; whilst, at the same time, he was publickly and solemnly disavowing all commerce in civil affairs, not seeming to know any thing of them, although he had a hand in most, and was privy to the rest.

IN imitation of that policy, which founded the papal grandeur, he disclaimed all temporal power, upon confidence, that jealousy and suspicion being once removed, he might gradually, and unobserved, get all power into his hands.

IN imitation of the subtile Cardinal *de Retz*, at his setting out, he had recourse to seeming liberality, and every other art, to purchase reputation. See the use, which that Cardinal, and this Cardinal, have alike made of their popularity. By the use we may judge of the views. Their distributions were calculated to answer their intrigues.

THE seeming innocence and simplicity of our Cardinal gained upon unwary persons; grimace gained some, the loaves gained others. Few clergymen were admitted to his presence, unless allied to men that might probably be made subservient to his worldly purposes; of such importance to him, that a magnificent table was kept, to gather profitable companions; young men of fortune, who might become instruments to bridle their Country, and in the end themselves. Every step was lawful, every pleasure sanctified, that might enable him to care for and inveigle these. For this sinister end, his associates were indeed fitly chosen, although the world did not then see, why they were chosen. What vulgar

eyes

eyes mistook for profusion and splendor, was by his accurate calculation, the quickest step to grandeur. Instead of spending a revenue, he counted upon putting his money to interest; when, with this political view, he fed the eye with pageantry, and the mouth with ragouts and champaign; to be paid an hundred fold for every pennyworth consumed by his guests, who may be said to resemble his horses, pampered for his riding, and fed no longer than they obey him.

SUPERLATIVE elegance, and magnificence in living, is the principal ingredient in his character, even among those who attempt to make out a good character for him; as if delicate taste, and skill in luxury, that contemptible turn of mind, bordering upon vice, were an accomplishment for the minister of Christ and the King. These talents may indeed qualify him to debauch the growing generation, to render them necessitous, vain and venal, and thereby fit them for his secret purposes, but can answer no end, pleasing to God, or useful to man. Delicacy, that false mark of judicious taste, beneath the dignity of a wise man, is cherished only by those who want genius for higher pursuits, or have an evil disposition, that prompts them to wicked ones.

SUCH is the man, such the views, such the collection of qualities, upon which a free people are, by his insidious writers, exhorted to rely in profound security. And lest common sense might forbid such reliance, as the plot grew ripe, it was thought adviseable to have another string to the bow. Flagitious attempts were therefore made in *July, 1752*, to corrupt a nobleman of the highest integrity. “ My Lord, sell your Coun-
“ try, and you shall name your price. Look into every
“ profession, and consider whom you would have at
“ the head of it.”

MUCH shocked, but in no degree allured, by any temptations, he sat down to consider what step he might be able to take for the service of his King and his Country; and concluding the plainest step to be the best, he presented a memorial to his Majesty in *May* last, (which he was warranted to do by our constitution) setting forth in terms of plain truth, which none has contradicted, a certain change of measures, tending in his Lordship's judgment, to the prejudice of the state.

THE more laudable his conduct, the more pains were taken by the enemies of our constitution to asperse it; such as inclined to flatter the Viceroy, said, that his memorial was unprecedented, as if a precedent was wanting to do good. The contents of it, true; the tendency of high moment to the Nation, yet the thing improper. A disinterested nobleman, piously devoted to the service of his King and Country, yet his service misconstrued, under colour of supposed defect in ceremony.

To judge the importance of this nobleman's virtue, consider what would have been the consequence, if he, or any other man of considerable influence, had been early bought off from the support of the community.

Most of the misfortunes that have happened to sovereign Princes, at least in these dominions, have happened by over prizing the information of their servants, and slighting that of their Subjects. And perhaps more Monarchs have been injured by the misconduct of their servants, than by the assaults of their enemies. The several steps taken by men in power among us, since that memorial was delivered, justify it. I pray God that no future distresses of this Nation may ever be an additional proof that his Majesty needed information.

SOME

SOME have called his memorial an unprecedented attack upon Government. By which, we must in all propriety understand, that he has left a good precedent, where such was wanted. It cannot with sense, or truth, be called a bad precedent; without first shewing, that the measures, which are the subject of his complaint, were not blame worthy. When measures are prejudicial to society, it is the business of the subject: it is his duty, within the bounds of law, to expose and attack them. It seems to be particularly incumbent upon the nobility to lay affairs of this public nature before the Monarch, since they are naturally to be considered as hereditary counsellors for the aid and service of the throne. — If all measures, that are said to be relative to Government, are to be alike blindly credited, with implicit faith, and tamely submitted to, whether right or wrong; what need of any examination? Where is the use of Whiggism? Erect a star chamber court, and enjoin passive obedience, if this be the case. The constitution of *England* and *Ireland* is in essentials the same; Liberty lives there, is it drowned in passing the channel? When it perishes here, by any means, it will not long survive on t'other side of the water. Our freedom can't exist but by the support of theirs. Theirs in great measure depends upon the preservation of ours.

THE grand seducer, and his cabinet council, perceiving by the conduct of this upright man, that virtue had more weight among us, than they imagined; their next conspiracy was against virtue. A protestant Jesuit is therefore employed to make way for venality, by writing pamphlets in derogation of reason and religion, morals and virtue, truth and patriotism. Under the hypocritical character of a *Candid Inquirer*, he sets out upon the grand foundation of Popery and Tyranny;

ranny ; lays his plot, to debase and disable man, to take away the use of his reason, the natural weapon to defend him from craft and combination.

HE asserts, that reason, which distinguishes man from brute, which leads us to the knowledge of our creator, is rarely of any other use, than to invent apologies for mistakes. The greatest enemies to religion and human society are they who thus labour to dethrone reason, and debase the human species.

THE next step is to eradicate christian piety. Lest our worthy prelates might continue their attention to the welfare of their religion and their country, he lays himself out to corrupt them, to ridicule virtue, public and private, to persuade them, that devout lives are fruitless, that holiness is unfit for modern practice.

HE charges it as an absurdity in us to expect that his patron, having a secular employment, should regard the episcopal function, publickly avowing, that the temporal province is a superior vocation ; that it is his highest character, and ought to be his chief care ; that his business is enlarged, his office changed ; that his present exalted state does not admit of application to the pastoral duty. God is therefore left to take care of his own Church ; according to this prostitute writer, his patron might be a good Bishop, altho' not a Christian.

HAD the Emperor Dioclesian made the Bishops of his time, ministers of state ; he had, it seems, absolved them from their obligations to the rules of the gospel. Providing civil employments for their Lordships, according to the principles of our author, had been the shortest way to overthrow Christianity. An excellent prime minister, he had been for Dioclesian.

The

The heathen Emperors wanted such acute casuists to un-teach the gospel. These monarchs were bad politicians, instead of endless and fruitless persecution, had they promoted the Bishops, the episcopal duties had immediately *varied*; and the gospel, being inverted, must have fallen without pains or bloodshed.

RELIGION he considers as a mode, that ought to be subservient to the state; reckons it an error in us to think otherwise; advises us to correct that error in ourselves; that ill judged bias in favour of religion; which he represents to be incompatible with our civil and ecclesiastical constitution; and, as such, assures us, that whoever would retrieve religion, by making his prelate pious, *may beat their brains out*, before they will be able to do so. Thus plainly intimating, that if our upright clergy, and our public-spirited laity, will agree to give up religion and liberty, quietly suffer a lordly ecclesiastic to live in luxury, and rule in politics, then all clamour will cease. And this he represents, as the only method to compose the differences between an ambitious prelate, and a christian people. Heavens! what a method is this? Christ, it seems only intended, that holiness should last for an age or two in the christian Church. Those ages now lapsed, we may all live at will.

UPON this principle, his prelate may betray his spiritual trust, and break his episcopal oath; may tyrannize over the clergy, and despoil the laity.

THIS occasional author confesses, that his ecclesiastical Monarch “ treats his clergy with “ shyness, and discourages them from coming about “ him, or near him.” The defence made, is, that he cannot go to them, nor they to him: That he being a ruler of the state cannot spare time to go into his dioces;

dioceſſ; nor muſt they come out of it, leſt *they trouble him at his levees*. A gulph thus lying between him and them, they muſt ever be ſeparate, to the continual decay of piety. He being thus diſabled to reprove their failings, to diſtinguiſh their talents, or reward their meriſts.

AT what place he and his clergy ought to meet, I will not preſume to determine. But this we may all determine, that if they do not meet ſomewhere in this world, it is muſt to be feared, that he will not meet them in Heaven.

To reconcile us to the ſtatelyneſs of his maſtice patriarck, this writer defames the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, iſiuiting, that his clergy cannot get acceſs to him. He falſly ascribes haughtineſs to that great and good prelate, then urges that haughtineſs as a pattern for our mock Pope to follow. Infernal is the doctrine of this man; would he have the prince of our Church like Lucifer! Arrogance is already ſuperabundant; it needs no further encouragement. If ſuſh papal iſolence were really known at *Lambeth*, it ought to be held in deteſtation, as contrary to the humility and parity required among christian brethren. Such unchristian carriage ought to be religiouſly avoided, not impioſly laid down as a preſident for imitation. The meanest ſubjeſt can have acceſs to his Maſteſty; monſtrous it would be! if a Christian Priſt could not have due acceſs to a Christian Biſhop. What a pamphlet is this to print and reprint in our metropolis!

PATRIOTISM, he would baniſh. Artfully iſiuiting, that there is reaſon no ſuſh thing, “ that it in “ ſound hardly affeſts any one in theſe days; that it is “ no more but a diſguife worn by crafty men to deceiver “ the unwarу.” By this means does he hope to breed

breed jealousy, and impair the credit of virtuous men; that so the weaker sort, who believe him, may join the vicious; and no force remain, on the side of virtue, to oppose the torrent of corruption. Patriotism, that disinterested spirit, that general affection for the society, that cheerful alacrity, and bold resolution to do right; to expose ourselves upon the calls of our Country! Patriotism, that road to Heaven; that Heaven which Patriots feel upon earth! Is this to be expelled the globe, for exaltation of the mercenary men who are enemies to it? Better far that all such men were expelled from human society.

His doctrines are suitable to the spirit and practice of his patron, who has taken more pains to pervert our youth, than any man that ever drew breath in our nation. A man more enterprizing and obnoxious, than any we have known since *Tyrconnel* fled. Look round, and see what effects his arts and depravity have produced among gentlemen adjacent to the metropolis, and exposed to his personal influence. Examine his whole conduct; see the writings published on his behalf; published to support him and his measures. Writings, worthy of our attention, only so far as to shew the destructive principles upon which he must be supported. Every thing good, and sacred, must fall, to set him up. Every doctrine, offensive to God, and injurious to man, has been timely advanced, to prepare the nation for his purposes, and lure them into his net; from which, Providence has for the time delivered us. Notwithstanding all efforts to subjugate the Church, and the State; all sophistry and craft, to poison the minds of Clergy and Laity; all stratagems, to take them by surprize; they cannot, either the one or the other, be brought to renounce their God, their King, or their Country.

HAVING exploded Patriotism, he then advises us to humour our Governors, grant them their demands, (it seems he was let into the secret that demands had been early concerted) and swim with the tide. He had been a good preacher for Lord *Strafford*. Having taken all pains to vitiate the minds of men likely to contend for Religion or Liberty; the next attempt is to render them odious to the world, and one another.

GREAT-BRITAIN, the freest, the most estimable nation, now upon the globe; probably as much so as ever was upon the globe; the Patrons of Liberty, civil, and religious; the bulwark of the Protestant interest; a nation envied by the rest of *Europe*; this paricide indiscriminately traduces, as a vicious, frantic, and profligate people.

OUR Reverend Clergy, many of whom are men of known morals and virtue, the body of them at this day remarkably upright and public spirited, he vilifies in the lump; as envious and ill-natured, teasing and importunate for preferment; forsaking the spiritual function, to sollicit their temporal interests at the Primate's levees. The great and pious Archbishop *Usher* had no such levees.

THE gentlemen of *Ireland* he libels, as " ignorant and rude; awkward, blunt, and ridiculous; drunkards and cheats; combined to oppose the Government; thorough paced party-men, trained among dogs and horses, bullocks and sheep; where they are likely to lose the little good that nature had put into them." A man of private rank, enters their nation, a candidate for preferment; is kindly received, gets into their Church; and by hasty

hasty strides to the top of it : Elated with dominion over his Church, he thinks himself therefore entitled to dominion over the Nation. Then step forth his underlings to abuse them in language of every kind that is scurrilous and false ; because they will not meanly submit to his usurpation ; let him trample upon the rights of the Clergy and People, and suffer him to tyrannize alike over both. See the consequence of a brain turned with prosperity. See the consequence of opulent donations ; when they meet with a weak head or vain heart to work upon. No brain weaker than that of a subtile man. Craft is not wisdom.

'Tis difficult to produce stronger evidence of a malign disposition, than appears before us. Worldly grandeur, in opposition to Christianity, hoping to raise itself upon the ruins of our peace, our liberty, and our virtue. Every art exerted, the utmost pains taken to set Clergy and Laity, *English* Protestants and *Irish* Protestants, in the most invidious light, vilifying all, to raise a flame in every breast, and render all alike odious to each other, that in the midst of the general conflagration, the leviathan may have his will, and tyrannize over faithful subjects, who to his surprise, astonishment, and mortification, shew him, that he can neither dupe them, nor buy them, nor bully them, even with the friendly aid of a threatening letter, seasonably transmitted just before the sitting of our Parliament, to put them in a panic, before they were put to the question. Like Mr. Selden's woman, who whipped her child beforehand, for fear he should break the pitcher. A letter treating us with a certain contempt and insult, which the greatest man, destitute of provocation, has not a right to practice towards his lowest inferiors. A letter, penned as by an enemy, to bring us under the character of prostitutes, and in that light to render us for ever ignominious and despicable in the

the eyes of our countrymen. Ignominious indeed! had we slavishly submitted to be driven into measures against conscience and conviction, at a perilous time, when every one of us sees, that our consciences were to have been violated, by the man, and for the man, who has none.

THIS extraordinary letter, said to be written by our Viceroy to the Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, copies of it handed about, universally taken to be genuine, and at length got into print; being, not only an insult upon the subject, but understood as a comment upon the letter written by order of his M----- in relation to the memorial of Lord K-----, it may not be amiss to reprint, least it may be surmised, that we put an unfavourable construction upon the declarations of the Viceroy.

My L---,
 " YOUR L----- will receive a letter from my
 " Lord H-----, with a copy of a very
 " extraordinary paper, delivered by the Earl of
 " K----- to the K---.

" HIS M----- was surprized at so unprecedent an
 " attack upon Government, and was unresolved for
 " some time, in what manner he should expres his
 " disapprobation of such proceedings, directing the
 " secretary of state to write to my Lord K-----, was
 " shewing too great attention to his L-----, directing
 " to the L--- J----- to declare his M-----'s
 " intentions, was liable to obvious objections, as two
 " in the commission were expressly named, so that
 " no method was thought so proper, as to signify to
 " your L----- (as the chief Officer of the state) his
 " M-----'s pleasure upon this event, that you might
 " communicate

“ communicate it to my Lord K-----, and to every
“ other person you shall think expedient.

“ His M----- thought it not consistent with his
“ dignity to enter into farther particulars, either
“ with regard to the facts so strongly stated,
“ or with regard to my Lord P-----, or L---
“ G----- S-----. It was sufficient for his M-----
“ to declare the confidence he is pleased to repose in me,
“ the support he will give his representative, and that
“ he leaves me the judge who best deserves my
“ confidence, and through what channel his favours
“ are to be disposed. I hope, at least, it will have
“ this good effect, that the servants of the crown, and
“ other members of the House of Commons, who
“ always expressed their inclinations to support the
“ King and Government, and have declared their
“ regard for me, and yet may have differed with those,
“ in whom I have confided, in what they were told
“ were immaterial points, will be more cautious for
“ the future, in giving opportunities to ill designing
“ persons, to represent their actions in so different a
“ light, from what I am convinced many of them
“ intended.

“ Your L-----'s experience in business, your
“ prudence and abilities, will direct you better in what
“ manner to make use of the confidence, which
“ his M----- upon this occasion has reposed in
“ you, than I can possibly point out to you.

“ I heartily wish this express declaration of the
“ K---- may produce that union among his M-----'s
“ faithful Servants and Subjects, which I have always
“ endeavoured to promote: For I should be sorry
“ that the Honour and Dignity of Government should
“ not be effectually supported, without exerting the
“ authority

“ authority of the Crown, in such a manner, that
“ would be always disagreeable to me.”

I am, &c.

D.

FOR wicked purposes, have we been falsely stigmatized, as opposers of a Government, that we would every day since the Revolution have supported with our blood. A Government, which we would in earnest support, whilst perhaps some feigned supporters, may project to undermine it.

HAUGHTY politicians may confound themselves, vainly relying upon arts and parts to entrap country gentlemen; perhaps the chief end proposed, by their boasted refinements of education. Under all disadvantages of rustic ignorance, with which we are upbraided; we see the train laid with scornful negligence, as not doubting easily to make prey of unbeaten game; which, 'tis true, may possibly fall by the hand of their enemy; but not at this time, through surprize. We all of us now see unfriendly designs, against which we might have guarded, had we, at the beginning of this A-----, less deference, and more suspicion.

PROMPT as we are, to support Government; in the midst of native simplicity, we know that a wary and timely opposition to particular aspiring men is not opposition to Government; but, on the contrary, manifestly tends to the service and stability of Government. The duty of the Subject, and the interest of the Nation, are too well understood among us, to admit of opposition to a just Government. And if the fault lies not in ourselves, there is no reason to fear that we shall live under any other.

EVERY

EVERY Ruler that enters this Nation finds his administration fit easy, where his conduct is suitable to his commission. Upon no other terms, ought it to fit easy; nor can it, whilst sensibility and freedom in any degree exist. If report may be credited this truth was early made known to our Viceroy, by a man of the first distinction among us. When his G---- said to him, I hope we shall have a short and quiet Sessions. " You may if you please my Lord." Had his G---- paid any regard to this judicious and candid intimation, he might have passed through his Government, with as much tranquility as any of his predecessors. But if his G---- is wedded to advisers, and to measures, which produce evil consequences, the blame lies not at the door of his Majesty, nor at our door. Not an instance can be given of any improper opposition to Government. Some instances, perhaps, of unnecessary compliance; and if there had been fewer instances of unnecessary compliance, these political ravagers, who sacrifice our public peace, had now been less assuming.

To go no further back than this winter, the new and alarming practices of fatal tendency to all public virtue and liberty, will, it is to be hoped, teach this nation more caution. And likewise teach them to set an higher value upon those same Country gentlemen, the squires; whom this scurrilous writer thus licentiously endeavours to ridicule. Not satisfied with a general abuse of gentlemen, who constitute the lower House of Parliament, fill many important trusts in the Kingdom, and are, in great measure, the flower of the Nation, as well as the defenders of it, he lays himself out to deprecate virtue and human race. Men, who are strangers to the power of virtue in themselves, would have the world believe, that no such thing exists. But if men of virtue did not exist, Govern-

ment could not. If Patriotism did not exist, we could not.

THE very instance of resolute perseverance in reducing the present aspiring P—— within the bounds of his duty, demonstrates, that the gentlemen of this Country have virtue. Demonstrates, that they have wisdom, the parent of virtue.

THE question has been asked, who is *Aaron*, that ye murmur against him. In answer, his injuries to the public are the cause of our loud and general murmur. His character is now well known to every man, from the Bishop to the sexton, and from the Earl to the cobler. *Aaron* is an ambitious invader of our rights and privileges; therefore do we justly murmur. He neglects the things that he ought to do, and does the things that he ought not to do; things that no man ought to do. Disturbs the harmony and peace of a Country, and sets at variance the minds of gentlemen, of friends, relations, brethren, husband and wife, father and son, to gratify an ambition which no principles can justify; an ambition which the principles of his profession do most peculiarly condemn. If *Aaron* would confine himself to the duty that he owes to his God and his King, we would not murmur against him. If he becomes the object of scorn or hatred, 'tis his fault, not ours. We may dissemble, but we cannot avoid to hate or despise *Aaron*, if his conduct renders him odious or despicable. Should we flatter *Aaron*, we deal dishonestly, by inducing him to rely upon merit that he has not. 'Tis rather doing to the Church, and to the man, the duty of a friend, to tell him his faults; it is likewise doing justice to the Nation.

SHOULD

SHOULD such an adventurer break loose and attempt the direction of affairs on the other side of the water, how short would be his reign amongst that spirited people?

THE same retainer of *Aaron*, in order to render us obnoxious, insinuates that we murmur, because his Majesty is pleased to appoint the Primate one of our Governors. It is not probable, that he ever heard a man murmur at that appointment. He misrepresents the cause of murmur. We are ready to pay due respect to his Majesty's servant; but we would have that servant confine himself to the proper business of his Royal Master: Study his honour, his real interest; and not daringly raise an Empire for himself; not misuse that sacred Name, and under pretence of serving the Crown, take steps, which the Crown, duly apprized, would abhor; not presume to obtrude himself into such affairs, as solely belong to the popular branch of our Constitution. Which, for the true interest of Prince and People, ought, by every man, in every Government, to be left fairly, entirely, and absolutely, to their own free deliberation and sentiments. When a subtile genius throws enmity between them, he lights the match; generally without the knowledge, and against the will of either; and perpetually against the true interest of all. An attempt to controul, to menace, or unduly influence the Representatives of the People, in their legal proceedings; founded upon their share in the administration, is an open violation of our known National Rights; is subversive of our Constitution; it is as truly an attack upon the Liberties of the People, as an attempt upon the Prerogative is an attack upon the Sovereign: His share, and the share of our Representatives, is alike warranted by our Constitution; justice, and wisdom,

call upon them to support each other, in order to support themselves. And we deserve not a share, if we tamely suffer any daring individual, Churchman or Layman, to invade it. If such a person has the honour to bear the King's commission, obey him in things relative to that commission, and let him know, that he must be confined within the bounds of it.

MEN of sudden and unexpected rise, from very low to very high condition, seem, to themselves, as in a state of enchantment; fancy, that they have got above human race, generally want ballast, forget themselves, and know not where to circumscribe their ambition.

A further question is put, to this effect. What wrong step has been taken that tends to hurt the general interest of the Kingdom; or abridge any privilege that we possess? I answer thus, what wrong step, except open force, has not been taken? Corruption is more dangerous than force, as being more difficult to oppose. Besides the practices already mentioned; we see the most extraordinary pains taken to gain over Gentlemen that have an interest in Boroughs; unheard of sums offered for seats in Parliament; unheard of measures taken, to gain seats by violence, that could not be gained by venality; military preferment, civil employments offered, to induce the Burgeses of a Corporation to betray their trust; nay, these corrupt offers urgently pressed, until a generous Subaltern repelled them, by his noble declaration, *That a Regiment could not corrupt him.* A declaration, that shewed he deserved a Regiment. Indefatigable endeavours used, to get creatures into the House, and according to the general opinion of candid men, various indirect steps taken, every act of power exerted, and every art used, to bias Gentlemen that are

in the House. Menaces tried, and promises profusely tendered ; perhaps more in a day, than could be performed in an age.

THEIR promises, like King *James's* brass money, easily coined, pass current, whilst our *young ruler* resides in the Kingdom ; useless, when he is gone ; carry an appearance of wealth, when only filth is in the purse. The fittest reward for hirelings, though it shews the fraud of the purchasers. 'Twas therefore wary craft, to pass engagements by Deputy, and furnish the Principal with a cloak for his own character. Enabling him openly to say, " What promises I made, " I will perform. Let those that have made promises " in my name, and those that have taken them look " to the event."

WERE Places, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical, at the disposal of this *ambitious young man*, and his confederate, for support of their * * * * measures, what would be the state of our Government? God preserve the Monarch and the Nation ; their cause and their perils are the same. Conspirators, in antient *Rome*, began with corrupting the People.

COMPANION, Friend, Relation, Father, Son, and Brother, set to work upon each other ; every passion consulted, every inclination flattered ; no step omitted, to decoy you. How can you escape, but by an early and vigorous constitutional opposition ; never so judiciously made, as in the beginning, before the strength of your antagonist is increased, and your own diminished ?

'Tis the real interest of the Crown, that such measures be early opposed. Oppose them in time, and you prevent future evils. Let them run on, and the

murmurs occasioned by the mal-conduct of the Mi-
nistry may become seeds of disaffection to the P——e.

THE famous Bill of Rights, declares, That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be free ; but 'tis needless to bring men freely into Parliament, if sinister practices be admitted to render that freedom useless, when they get there. The Subject is treated contrary to Law and Constitution, whenever that freedom is invaded, within doors or without, by any person whatsoever. If it be an invasion upon the rights of the People to tamper with a Juror, how much more so is it to tamper with men in higher trust ? Men, upon whose conduct our *all* depends. An invasion, in the event, as truly injurious to the Monarch, as to the People. A trick in politicks is like craft in physick ; a Government, supported by expedients is like a sick man in the hands of an emperick ; ill advised, ever tampering, with palliative medicines, not to cure, but to keep him for a time just alive, and, for the Doctor's profit, always sick. A wise and just administration does not need expedients, nor can they long support a bad one. They answer no end but to aggrandize the servant at the expence of the master. What a life must a Monarch lead, that is to rule a People governed by vice and corruption ? In the year 1714, we crowned one of the best Men that ever wore a Crown. His Son is not inferior to him. In about forty years reign, no attempt whatsoever has been made upon the Liberties of the People. Would either of these Princes countenance the steps that have lately alarmed and divided us : No. Were facts fairly represented to our gracious and impartial Monarch, he would disclaim the measures taken by some of his servants, and thank his Subjects. He would acknowledge, that they have reason to be alarmed, when they see every artful man picked out for

an emissary ; and every emissary, as busy as those of satan, to deceive, seduce, and debauch ; efforts of corruption, in every shape, such as earth has not known, since the destruction of *Rome* ; perhaps not then. What Nation has withstood, or can withstand such batteries long continued ? Our existence depends upon their timely end.

WILL any hardened sinner say, that virtue is gone ; when we withstand temptations infinite ? Shall any interested deceiver calumniate our Nation, as a vicious one ; when our conduct has extorted this confession from one of the disappointed conspirators ? “ We, “ who thought this Nation might be as easily “ gained as a venal Borough, find more Virtue in “ them than we imagined to be in the British “ dominions.”

ONE of the brightest parts in King *William's* character, and one of the wisest steps that ever he made ; was his upright behaviour towards the Convention Parliament. All electors were left to their own inclinations, without any solicitation from him or his friends. By which means there was a free Representative of the Nation. When the Convention assembled ; so far was he from attempting to influence them, that he would not even connive, when such attempt was made by the Subjects themselves. Many well disposed persons at *London*, jealous of disaffection in the House of Lords, as being inclined to recall King *James*, prepared a petition, subscribed by men of all ranks, to be presented to the Lords ; desiring in plain terms, that they would settle the Prince and Princess of *Orange* upon the Throne. But the Prince, above this way of proceeding, sent the Lord Mayor orders to stop this project.

DURING the long and memorable debates and conferences, concerning the abdication and vacancy of the Throne, the Prince never attempted to gain a man to his party. On the contrary, he was less affable than usual ; to shew, by his behaviour, that he left every man at liberty, to vote without bias, as he shou d think fit. In consequence of this generous and judicious demeanour, the Nation behaved as they ought to have done. And he was treated, as he ought to have been treated ; rewarded with a Crown, upon shewing that his parts and virtue entitled him to wear one. Reader compare the late measures taken by G---- St---- and G---- Sa----, with the measures taken at the Revolution ; or with any measures of Government that ever were taken. Then draw your own inference.

BRETHREN consider, who support measures so inemical to liberty, so dangerous to you and your posterity. Those who act upon sinister motives are easily distinguishable from those who act upon error of judgment. Let the names of your enemies, who would pass for your friends, be engraved in every part of your houses ; let the History of these times be kept by all families ; all that would be free. There are men, who value themselves upon leaving nothing unattempted to subdue us ; let us shew, that we neither want generosity nor freedom of spirit. Let us shew them, that they cannot rule us, as we rule beasts, by fear and the aid of one against the other.

IF the remotest parts of this Nation do not know the attempts which have been made, they ought to know them ; so ought the next Nation. That great and free people are deeply interested. Let them consider the latent snares that may take themselves.

Let

Let every *British* subject know what has lately been done among us.

WILL these men again tell us in print, that "no corruption, no jobbing, no violence, no assault, has been offered or intended." Much has been offered; more intended; and nothing to oppose the one or the other, but spirit; plain mere Whiggism, Patriotism, Virtue. The generality of one party was evidently moved by indirect views; the generality of the other, by virtue; what else could induce honest Country Gentlemen, and men of conscience in employment, at their own risk, to oppose the measures of a G-----, when it has at all times been their inclination, and their interest, to carry on his Majesty's affairs, with the utmost advantage to him; and with all becoming deference, to those in authority? An inclination as strong as ever. But to suppose, that *all* unfair steps shall be taken to force the direction of *all* affairs into the hands of two *rash* young men, without talents or qualification for such universal dominion, is a tryal too severe, under a mild Constitution and a legal Government. They have had Years to concert their schemes; we, no warning, no support but Virtue. This they evidently saw, and would therefore have destroyed Virtue, in order to subjugate us.

SUCH conduct under a Whig administration, or any administration that passes for such, is astonishing. The V-----, the P-----, the S-----, and every man conversant in publick affairs, knows that the subjects of this Kingdom chearfully concur in every act for the real service of the Crown; tampering therefore is unnecessary. Corrupt them, and what is the consequence? You train them to sell to the best bidder; your enemy therefore may purchase them. Their native innocence suffered to remain, they are your sure friends;

friends; rendered venal, you know not who gets them, nor when.

A Subject, thus bought up, is only purchased from the Prince to the Minister. And a Government, thus supported, stands not upon a lasting support. Conduct of this sort forebodes destruction to the Prince, or to the People; perhaps to both. It tends to make both a common prey, to an enemy abroad, or a servant at home. The property of the servant, ready for sale to the enemy.

OUR Nation is remarkably well affected to the House of Hanover; must not every candid man confess, that the Prince is more safe in the hands of such a People, than in the hands of one man, much less in the hands of this man, now so well known to us all.

THE British Subjects in general chuse to be faithful, even for their own sakes. Seldom any thing less than high and repeated provocations can alienate them. Of the aspiring man you have no hold, because he has no dominion over himself; he is governed by his passions, and they are governed by the man of greatest art. Such a man might have been a proper instrument for *Lewis XIV*, perhaps for *Lewis XV*; our Monarchs, since the Revolution, thank God, do not need such servants. They rely upon their People. Wisdom and justice point out this reliance. Providence grant, that they never have any other.

THE steps taken to deceive this Nation were transacted with the utmost secrecy and craft; some of them fortunately came to our knowledge, tho' few in comparison of the whole. Where the spring of these transactions lies, is no secret. I appeal to the breast of every candid gentleman in this Nation. Every shop-
keeper

keeper in the Metropolis, every farmer in the Country, sees it. No man is at a loss to trace them to their fountain. 'Tis surely terrible to see some of our own hands wickedly hired, and treacherously consenting, to be employed against ourselves; consenting to be our executioners, and in the event their own.

IF he, who ought to be the most reverend, has a share in these proceedings, he is answerable to God and Man. As a Lord of P_____, as a C_____, as G____ of the Kingdom, as a M____ of state, which his minion calls him, he is bound to avoid meddling in affairs of the House of Commons. 'Tis the highest invasion of the sacred rights of the People; the lowest of them may, with equal right, assume his robes, and vote on his bench.

THE number and nature of advantageous views, that set these political artists to work, none can conjecture; some we see; the worst perhaps we do not see; worse might have arisen, had they found us tame enough for their burthens. More may still arise.

THE Barracks of this Kingdom having been in a ruinous condition, the House of Commons in 1747 addressed the Lord Lieutenant to build, rebuild, and repair them, for the troops returning hither at the end of the last war. The Government entrusted the work to the Surveyor General, who received near 39,000*l.* out of the Treasury for that purpose.

UPON the general complaint of Officers and Gentlemen all over the Kingdom, touching great abuses in the building and repairing of these Barracks, injurious to the forces, as well as a wrong and scandal to the Nation; a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1751, to enquire into these abuses; and the

the Lord Lieutenant declared, that he had no intention to screen the Officer who expended the money; concluding, that as it was an affair merely relative to the Country, he ought to stand or fall by his works.

IN the progress of the inquiry, it became manifest, that the Officer had grossly abused his trust; protection he therefore wanted, and threw himself upon *Aaron* to get it. Being now one of *Aaron*'s forces in the House of Commons, he must not be left to stand or fall by his works; as a servant of the Crown, he must now be respected. Instead of expulsion from Parliament, and an address to remove him from his employment, both which were upon the point of being done; all powers were exerted to screen him, and suspend the just resentment of the House of Commons. It was so ordered as to get his punishment referred to another Judge; and a resolution passed, requiring nothing more of him, but to make good the defective repairs, and fit the Barracks for reception of the forces. Instead of being punished, as the Commons had good reason to expect; he was permitted to sell his employment at full value; and the buildings being said to continue in a ruinous state, the House of Commons in 1753 thought fit to enquire how far the Surveyor General had complied with their Resolutions of last Session. And finding that he had not complied, they expelled him, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours used by *Aaron* and his confederates to protect him.

AN order of Parliament issued about *October* last, requiring the commanding Officers of the several Barracks to report to the House of Commons the state and condition of the buildings. By the reports of those Officers, it appeared, that they were in general ruinous

nous ; rain in abundance pouring through the walls and flatting.

A brave soldiery expose their lives abroad to defend a Protestant Succession, and the Liberties of Europe. Upon their return to Ireland, although the Nation spare no cost to provide commodious habitations ; these gallant Englishmen, for such they are which we enlist, were many of them sent to sleep in places worse than their parents in England provide for their beasts. What Soldier can be blamed for deserting, if he wants the necessaries of life ? What sort of a Colonel, what sort of a Senator, must he be, who exerts ministerial influence to make the King's servants betray their constitutional trust in Parliament, and screen an offender, whose misconduct tends to destroy Englishmen and Soldiers ? What a Man is this to have the secret direction of a Viceroy, who has the government of us ?

A boy, because he is the son of a L--- L-----, is complimented with a seat in our Parliament; grown to manhood, he makes this return.

OBSEQUIOUS men of fortune, who carry the lead in some of our Boroughs, unwarily bring men of this sort into our House of Commons ; by which means, the natural Representatives of the People are kept out of Parliament, and the Kingdom is deprived of their service.

VARIOUS were the conjectures relative to this new trust concerning the Barracks, but whether well or ill grounded, so far is certain, that the Nation was grossly abused. The Surveyor General greatly misbehaved ; and, by his means, the Public have been egregiously wronged. Contrary to his instructions from the

the Government, he contracted with several persons, who were not workmen, and knowingly suffered others, not workmen, to make use of the names of workmen, as contractors, tho' they were not to execute the work; nor to share the profit. Generally embezzled the old materials of the several Barracks, without giving the Nation credit for the value of them. Persuaded a Barrack Master to give a certificate to some of the workmen, that the work was well done, altho' he himself knew to the contrary. Took the affidavits of the contractors, or workmen, for the sufficiency of their own work. Permitted his clerk to prepare estimates, and without making any alteration in them, contracted with the same clerk for building several Barracks according to the estimates prepared by himself; was apprized by the Barrack Board, that his clerk had taken bribes; whereupon, indeed he was dismissed from his nominal employment, but still was continued in the confidence of his master, and employed by him to fix rates for the workmen*.

No wonder, that in these circumstances, he charged excessive prices; higher prices for the worst materials and workmanship; than the best were worth; and, after all, executed this public work so extremely ill, that in some places, the officers thought their lives in danger, whilst they slept in the buildings, and were therefore (some of them) at the expence of providing lodgings for their safety.

THE

* For further satisfaction concerning these abuses, we refer to the report of the Committee, and the Resolutions thereupon, published in the 8th Vol. of the Journals of the House of Commons.

THE House of Commons therefore passed a bill to reprise the Nation out of the estate of the Surveyor General. But the bill was thrown out in the Privy Council. As one of our absolute Governors foretold that it should, when he openly declared in the House of Commons, that although it passed their House, it might be rejected in another place.

THE Nation had incurred a large debt, originally owing to an unlimited Vote of credit given to the Government in the Reign of King **GEORGE I.** for defence of the Kingdom against an Invasion threatened in favour of the pretender; and since that time increased chiefly by mismanagement in the article of Barracks; yet are they still ruinous, notwithstanding great and constant exceedings on the head of Barracks. To remedy these growing expences, and prevent annual imbezzlement, the Parliament thought it adviseable at once to put all Barracks in thorough repair; and for that purpose, in Lord *Harrington's* time, voted the address already mentioned, to build, rebuild, and repair them. A precaution which only served to run us further in debt; our money having been so grossly misapplied, that the work is for the most part to do over again, at the cost of the public. A new sum to be raised for the same uses, which had been amply provided for already: The Nation wronged; but the offender being enlisted in the service of two designing men must be protected by his patrons.

POSSIBLY the next trustee employed in this Public work may act the same part. He cannot have stronger encouragement.

THE

THE exceedings on the head of Barracks, for thirty years past, amount to near two hundred thousand pounds, over and above the sum of 38,993*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* paid on account of the Barracks in consequence of the address of Parliament in 1747, most of which was misapplied by the Surveyor General. Whereby it appears, that near half of the Public Debt was incurred on account of Barracks. Yet were not permitted to reprise the Nation, upon abuse of that trust, although there had been near 60,000*l.* Exceedings upon the head of Barracks, even since the Vote in 1747, to compleat them. What Administration can expect to be easy and honourable upon such terms?

WHAT other men are there in his Majesty's Dominions, who would have attempted to corrupt a Nation, and would have spent the influence and credit of the Government, for such a purpose? No wonder that the strongest jealousy should be fixed in the minds of Gentlemen, to prepare them for opposition of the altered Money Bill; and of every other step, that raised their suspicion. They must of necessity suspect men who take steps contrary to reason and justice; contrary to all public trust and duty; as well as contrary to an early assurance given by the Government.

THE next Subject of our consideration shall be the Public Revenue, in order that gentlemen may impartially judge, how far men in power have probably been swayed by motives which they do not think it prudent to avow.

By several Statutes in the 14th Year of *Charles II.* Excise Customs, and Heath Money, were granted in perpetuity, for payment of the forces, and defraying the public charges of the realm.

By

By Statute 11th. *William the IIIId. English*, all Quit Rents, Crown Rents, and chieftainships belonging to the Crown, were unalienably appropriated for the support and maintenance of the Government in *Ireland*; not liable to any annuity, pension, charge, or incumbrance whatsoever; the several subsidies specified in these Statutes having been granted for ever, do therefore, with some other small articles, pass under the name of the King's Hereditary Revenue. But it has been found by experience, that these Revenues never at any time since the Revolution answered the purposes for which they were granted.

THE Crown therefore perceiving them to be insufficient for the support of the civil and military Establishment, applied to Parliament for a further aid; which the Parliament granted, by laying additional duties upon several goods and merchandize; which additional duties they continue from Session to Session, as they judged the state of the Nation to require. Both these Revenues being alike vested in the Crown, only as Trustee for the Public. And the difference between the two branches of Revenue, nothing more, but that one is perpetual, the other temporary; although the word Hereditary has of late been frequently misused by designing men to mislead the ignorant.

IN stating the National accounts, which is done every Session; if it appeared, that there was any redundancy in the hands of the Vice-Treasurer, the Nation, out of whose pockets the duties were raised, had credit for the redundancy; which was always considered as the money of the Public.

By the known usage in our Parliament, it appears, that as oft as there is any redundancy in the Treasury, the Nation takes credit for it, without waiting for any previous Consent of the Crown. A practice, which evinces the dominion of Parliament over the public funds, call them Hereditary, or what you will. A known constitutional practice of many years, which experience proves to be a safe one. A practice never once called in question, until an *enterprizing S----y*, and an aspiring E-----k, assumed a dominion, which, being founded upon a breach of our Constitution is impossible to support. 'Tis amazing that amongst men of liberal education, knowledge or spirit is at so low an ebb, that some have been found ready to put the shackles upon themselves, by endeavouring to support it.

AT several times since the Accession of King **GEORGE I.** the Nation incurred a debt of about four hundred thousand pounds; to make good deficiencies upon the civil and military Establishment, and appropriated certain duties to pay the interest; the redundancies, if any, were to be a sinking fund towards discharge of the principal. But the redundancies upon these appropriations were not so considerable as to pay half the debt.

PRIVATE persons having been considerably enriched during the late war, the luxuries arising from their additional wealth, caused an uncommon importation; whereby the duties greatly increased. Unexpected sums having thus flowed into the Treasury, it appeared upon stating the public accounts in 1749, that the Vice-Treasurer had a balance of 220,000*l.* in favour of the Nation. A Bill was therefore brought into Parliament, which readily met with the Royal Assent,

Affent, to discharge the 128,500*l.* of the national debt, out of this surplus arising from the Hereditary Revenue, and additional duties. In the preamble of which a*ct*, there is not any notice taken, that his Majesty had given any previous Consent, warranting the House of Commons to bring in a Bill for such an application. This happened in the administration of Lord *Harrington*.

UPON the arrival of the present Lord Lieutenant in the year 1751, there appeared also a considerable balance in the hands of the Treasurer. And upon this occasion we are told by his Grace, at his opening the Sessions, that his Majesty would consent that part of the redundancy, remaining in the hands of the Vice-Treasurer, should be applied towards the payment of the national debt. This language appearing new to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, they did not think proper to take Notice of the word Consent in their Address; and so careful were they to preserve the Rights of Parliament, that they prepared a Bill for the payment of 120,000*l.* of the national debt, without taking Notice of his Majesty's previous Consent, which was omitted upon cool consideration, not upon warmth or faction, nor through inattention; on the contrary, his Majesty's servants were duly apprized and prepared to urge this point, for it is well known that the S----- and the P----- were very desirous that his Majesty's previous Consent should be recited in the heads of that Bill.

CONTRARY to all expectation, this Bill was returned from *England*, under the Great Seal, with Words inserted in the Preamble, importing, That his Majesty had been graciously pleased to signify, that he would Consent that the Parliament should apply a convenient part of the money remaining in the Treasury towards the reduction of the national debt.

UPON return of the Bill thus altered, (as we have reason to believe) by management on this side; L——G—— had a meeting with several members of the House of Commons, all servants of the Crown, to consider the Bill. Some of them declared their objections to the alteration; and it was said, that L——G—— was so far from seeming to approve it, that he expressed himself as under some surprize and concern, that it had been altered; but at the same time spoke of it, as a thing of no consequence, and in that light urged the passing of the Bill, for the public utility; framing his conversation in such a manner, as to impress upon the minds of the company, who judged him to be in the secrets of the Court, an opinion, that nothing unfriendly was intended, and that this course was the most safe and prudent they could then take. Thus circumstanced, the Members there present were induced to Consent to the passing of the Bill, as an instance of their confidence in the G——t; and of their disposition to make the utmost compliance, which their judgment of the whole national affairs would then admit. And the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, upon conversation with their several friends of this company, thought fit to approve of these measures.

THE Nation, at this period, were got into a real dilemma; there was no time during that Session to bring in another Bill; no remedy to be had for two years, as our Parliaments are not annual. Our Debt was large, a yearly interest incurring, though the money lay in the Treasury; and if the altered Money Bill should have been rejected, then there would have been no provision made for paying either principal or interest. The discharge of that part of the Debt, and the continuance of the Duties for paying the remainder, having been incorporated in the same Bill.

Thus

THUS situate, should the Bill drop, the generality of the Men in business apprehended that our trade and public credit must receive a mortal wound. At this critical juncture it was, that to remove our jealousy and gain our assent, gentlemen who do not want parts, though candour prompts them to reliance, were, without any direct promise, induced for once to admit a State Creed. Respectful to our Mother Country, and every man that comes from thence clothed with public authority, studious to avoid giving offence, and strongly inclined to keep measures with the Government; upon weighing the state of the Nation, it was thought adviseable to enact the Bill, and let the alteration pass in silence, without debate.

THAT there was some foundation for Reliance, cannot be doubted; this point having been cleared up in the House of Commons, when L— G— in the Debate upon the last altered Money Bill thought fit to introduce this subject, in order to clear the L— L— from the charge of a promise alleged to have been made by his G— concerning this matter: Upon which a gentleman of high capacity, and as high probity, who had been one of the company that met L— G—, in order to consider the alteration of the Bill, declared to the House, that when the Bill was under deliberation, it was understood that the passing of it at that time was not afterwards to be urged as a Precedent. And neither L— G—, nor any other of the Gentlemen, who had been of that company attempted to contradict this representation.

THE event, perhaps, will make us more cautious; our confidence having been ill placed, since we see our act of compliance last Session, now urged as a Precedent against us; a claim built upon it; and

writers employed to give judgment in print against the Nation, because the House of Commons did not reject the Bill. An unworthy behaviour, not only towards this Nation, but towards his Majesty, who neither warrants his servants to fish out imaginary titles, nor needs their cunning to support real ones.

HIS G----, at entering our Nation in *September* last, might easily have ruled it with gentleness. Some hoped, others wished, that this might be the rule of his conduct. It is true he had a respectful *Address*, not because discerning men approved that whole *Address*. The managers of our Court intrigues fore-saw that compliments were scarce to be expected ; they therefore applied themselves early and earnestly to procure an *Address* satisfactory to his G---- ; which many were unwilling to refuse, lest a cool one might possibly be construed a disapprobation of his Majesty's choice, at a time when we were all persuaded that the benevolent Monarch had chosen for the best. Veneration for the Master, produced this treatment for the servant.

IN the Session of Parliament 1751, the House of Commons were unwilling to lower the Duties, being confident they must fall, upon decline of our imports, which cannot continue so large as they have been for a few years past. Our military establishment is increased by additional regiments, and increase of pay to Officers and soldiers, amounting to about fifty thousand pounds a year. Our establishment thus increasing, and income decreasing, the redundancy must quickly be consumed. But without regard to any future rise or fall of the revenue, the Commons inclined to keep the Treasury as well provided as the Nation could bear ; conceiving it to be for his Majesty's service, and confident

confident that whatever public money should remain there, was safely lodged, for the use of the Nation.

THIS disposition and confidence in the Commons, has been the foundation of present misunderstandings. A considerable Redundancy being thereby in the Treasury over and above what would provide for the Establishment; the Commons looking upon this Redundancy to be more than was needful to lie in the Treasury, thought fit to bring in a Bill, for applying part thereof, to discharge the remaining part of the National Debt, being about 77,000*l.* When this Bill was on foot, to the surprize of the Members, instead of letting it run in the usual parliamentary stile, as we expected; the power of the Court was exerted to induce the Gentlemen of the Committee to bring it in, with a Preamble of the same import, with that which had been the last Session of Parliament inserted in *England*, to the general dislike of this Kingdom.

BUT those, who have long had the principal conduct in matters of this sort, judging it inconsistent with their public Trust and Duty, and contrary to the Sense of the House of Commons, to make such compliance, they therefore refused to introduce this new Language; conceiving, that they were not authorized to admit it into the Statutes. And those, under direction of the Court, perceiving that it would be fruitless, did not think it adviseable to urge this matter; the Heads of a Bill were therefore brought in, and passed without the Preamble inserted in the Bill last Sessions; In this form it went through our Privy Council, but was returned from *England* with a Preamble of the same import, with that passed the last Sessions, together with a letter from the Privy Council in *England* to the Privy Council in *Ireland*.

THE Speaker and some particular Members of the House of Commons were sent for to the Castle; and the Letter was read to them by the Secretary, in presence of the Lord Lieutenant; but the House conceiving that this Letter ought not to controul their Proceedings in Parliament, where they judged, that the Constitutional Rights of the Nation were concerned, they therefore rejected the Bill. Such new and extraordinary means having been used to get it passed, as had been vainly tried to screen the S——r G——l from punishment for misapplying the Barrack money. Means to which *Cato* would scarce have stooped, for the deliverance of *Rome*. An evidence that they were to answer purposes not yet avowed.

SHOULD the Letter be passed over in silence, imputations might possibly be cast upon men in the next Kingdom; which more properly fall to the share of men in this. I shall therefore give you the Letter *verbatim*, as it is handed about among us.

“ AFTER our very hearty Commendations to your
“ Lordships.

“ WHEREAS in your Letter transmitted to the
“ Earl of H——s, one of his M——’s princi-
“ pal Secretaries of State, with the heads of the
“ Money Bills, which Bills you desire may be return-
“ ed to you in the usual form, your Lordships take
“ notice of the words inserted in the Preamble of
“ the Bills, past the last Session of Parliament for
“ payment of part of the national debt, relating to
“ his M——’s previous Consent, to the application
“ of part of the money then remaining in the Treasury,
“ are omitted in the Bills now transmitted, for the
“ residue

" residue of the said debt. Which having been laid
 " before his M----, and taken into mature
 " deliberation, his M----, with the advice of his
 " Privy Council, has judged it necessary to cause
 " words of the like import to be inserted in the
 " present Bills. We do therefore by his M----'s
 " command, and his Name signify the same unto you,
 " and acquaint your Lordships, that the taking notice
 " of his M----'s previous Consent in a case of this
 " nature is absolutely necessary for the support of his
 " Prerogative and Dignity, and for preserving the
 " regularity of proceedings in the Parliament of
 " Ireland, whose just Rights and Privileges, his
 " M---- is determined to maintain; and we are
 " further to signify to you his M----'s pleasure that
 " this Letter be entered in your Books. From the
 " Council Chamber at St. James's November 28th.
 " 1753.

By this Letter we may easily judge the import of that Letter, to which it is an answer. We see that the new Preamble devised in 1751, by some men here, is falsely represented to those in *England*, as a matter of usual / m; although it was not known among us, till that very year, and then craftily obtained. We see that the alteration in the Preamble of this late rejected Money Bill, which has increased our present lamentable heats, did not arise on t'other side of the water, but was recommended from hence, and there inserted, through compliance, and at the instance of men that are here, as appears by these words, *which Bills you Desire may be returned to you in the usual form.*

AND further, " Your Lordships take notice of the
 " Words inserted in the Preamble of the Bills, past
 " the last Session of Parliament for payment of part
 " of

“ of the national debt, relating to his M-----’s
 “ previous Consent, to the application of part of the
 “ money then remaining in the Treasury are omitted
 “ in the Bills now transmitted for the residue of the
 “ said debt.”

By this Letter we have reason to conclude, that the first motion, the notice, the desire to insert a new Preamble, came from this side. You *desire*. Although we credulously depended upon men on this side, to have interposed, even in case that such an attempt had been made on t’other side. Conformable is this to the whole series of conduct visible for some time among us. Here we are deceived, there they are misled. Both abused; by two enterprizing young men, over confident of their abilities and political skill. Who believing our principles to be as loose as their own, answered for ruling us, by the sordid means which govern themselves; and relying wholly upon corruption, introduced acknowledgments seemingly harmless, in order to grasp new powers, not for their Master’s advantage, but their own secret service.

OUR prospects thus enlarged, and our fears raised, by these violent efforts, it is evident that for his Majesty’s sake, our own sake, and that of *Great Britain*, we could not, we ought not, to recede from our National Rights; as we cannot see with what view they should be attacked, unless to make ill use of new claims, in case that we should give way, or to raise discontent between King and Subject; in case we should oppose the measures, which we could not approve.

THE public money, lying in our Treasury, is now by all unprejudiced men allowed to be the money of the Nation, and applicable only to the use of the Nation;

Nation; if so, the Parliament, that raised this money, must surely have a right to advise the application of it. A right essential to Parliament, and continually exercised among us, without interruption, since we have had any redundancy. A right which cannot injure the Crown, who have strictly no property in the money. On the other hand, introduce new language in your Statutes, which, even by a strained construction of servile lawyers and parasites, may give the Crown a new claim, then you injure the Nation. And altho' the language be barely doubtful, you prejudice the Crown and People, by raising contests between them. Probably this was the view which some had, in raising these; and possibly they were raised for purposes beyond what the World as yet imagine. If no new claims were to have been grafted upon this Preamble, nor any intention to create jealousy and division, where there should be none; why was such extraordinary and uncommon pains taken to support it? Were there an antient, and an undoubted Prerogative, to warrant this new parliamentary stile, how comes it that none ever found out the Prerogative, until the S----, and his mitred Partner, found a Temptation in the T-----?

As for any constitutional right of demanding parliamentary supplies, it is founded only upon the necessary support of Government, whatever may be intended, nothing more is at any time pretended, which demonstrates that no more ought to be demanded than is sufficient to answer that end, and if more shall arise upon miscomputation of funds, it remains the natural property of the state who raised it.

AT the beginning of this contest, some Partizans of the Court pretended, and openly insisted in the House

House of Commons, that the redundancy of public money was the King's property, and absolutely at the disposal of the Crown. When they found this doctrine too absurd for currency ; then the language varied, and the redundancy was indeed allowed to be the money of the Nation, but at the King's disposal for public uses ; they said that it was vested in his Majesty, as a Trustee, and that his Prerogative tied up the Parliament, from taking any step relative to it, without a previous Consent from the Royal Trustee. Perceiving that upon due examination of this doctrine the ground was not tenable by law or reason ; then they flew to calumny, and called our allegiance in question ; because we did not tamely resign to them what we believe to be the unquestionable right and liberty of the Subject.

If ministerial abettors could this year establish a doctrine, that I am not to propose making use of my money until I obtain previous leave (which must be graciously offered without asking) to make the proposal, they might next year improve this doctrine, and say, that since the money is useless to me, I have no right to make enquiry about it, nor to examine who takes it away. That it does not concern me, who takes it, since I cannot. Should a Minister of State obtain from himself a warrant to draw it out of the Treasury, on a supposed account of public utility ; who shall presume to question his application. The Commons cannot, they must be silent, until the Minister himself procures them a licence to examine his own conduct. Inferences less specious have been drawn. There have been Ministers, who would affirm that exigence of state required such a warrant ; Primates, who would justify it by precepts of the Gospel ; and Judges, even in this last age, who would have pronounced the seizure to be lawful. We all

all know what has been delivered for law in the Reign of *Charles I.* not only by Judges on the bench, but with solemnity by all the Judges (except honest *Crook* and *Hutton*) assembled in the Exchequer chamber. The Parliament having been obliged to annul their illegal and partial determinations; and it is better to avoid all foundation of strife, than be obliged to reverse decrees.

ADHERING to the forms and the usual language of Parliament, cannot be attended with any evil to the Crown. Because whatever public trust, whatever power over public money was in the Crown, still continues there; nor did the House of Commons ever attempt to abridge the prerogative, in this or any other instance; but were content to leave it as they found it. Whatever right the Crown had to issue letters or warrants for payment of public money; whatever right the crown ever had to apply it, the same right still subsists. Their Consent is acknowledged to be necessary to the disposing of public money. And should his Majesty's representative think it adviseable that his Majesty's Consent should precede the Money Bill, even that end was answered by his Speech at opening the Parliament. To what purpose then should a previous Consent become embodied in the Statutes, unless there to remain upon record, for matter of future contention?

IT is not apprehended, that an instance can be produced before the late practice in this Kingdom, where any Parliament in *England* or *Ireland* have in their Statutes acknowledged that the King's previous Consent was necessary to the making of that Statute. When a licence becomes necessary, a Parliament becomes useless.

UPON

UPON the change of parliamentary forms and language, we cannot be sure that the rights of the People would continue the same; nor that they would be so well able to maintain those rights, against every subtle Minister: An unquestionable reason for our refusing to admit the smallest alteration. And we ought to be the more steady in our refusal; the more vehemently we see such groundless alteration insisted upon, particularly when we see corrupt Steps taken to compass it, and see servants of the highest ability and fidelity displaced for opposing it. Were a Parliament only to meet by proclamation of the Crown, for the bare assenting to raise annual supplies for soldiers and state officers, and afterwards have no Authority, but by previous licence to advise the application of what happens to remain after supplying these ends; nor no authority to enquire how it has been disposed of, as hath been publickly affirmed; what better would they be than a Parliament of *Paris*, assembled to do what they are bid, and do nothing but what they are bid? Who, but a slave, would sit in such an assembly? Establish this negative claim in any one instance of parliamentary authority, and it is easy to make it a precedent for curbing the rights of the people. If this was Law, the commons could not have enquired into the conduct of the Surveyor General; nor would the P----- and S----- have taken **** steps to defend him. Could they have screened him under colour of Law, they would not have struggled to do it against Law.

WE see what attempts were made this winter to purchase us with money, perhaps with our own money. We see, we feel, that money may be worse than wasted among us. Can there be stronger reason to guard the public purse from public officers?

A misapplication

A misapplication of our money, when we chance to have money, may be as fatal to *Britain*, as a misapplication of their own; and with respect even to ourselves, a misapplication might, for the time, be as mischievous as an alienation, possibly more so.

A Minister of State has as good a right to compel us to pass a bill for the raising of money, as to restrain us from offering a bill to the Crown, for the application of our own money, when it is raised. The Prerogative is not above advice. No friend of his Majesty will wish him to be destitute of advice; nor will any statesman, except these arrogant ones, say, that he has advisers more able or more constitutional, than his Parliament; who, upon all occasions, have the highest right humbly to deliver their sentiments to the Throne. They are the great council of the Nation called by Writ to advise the King. To give him their advice, is by the constitution, a main branch of their office. Can any man think it consistent with the duty, the use, the trust, the office and dignity of Parliament, or consistent with common sense, that they be summoned to give advice, and yet when they are assembled, then tied up by Prerogative, from giving their advice until previous leave is voluntarily given to authorize them to offer it. What doctrine more absurd, or more pernicious, was ever broached by *Manwaring* or *Sibthorp*, by *Higgins* or *Sacheverel*? And if they are entitled to interpose their advice, surely they may do it as constitutionally by heads of a Bill, as by an address. If the Parliament may be debarred the freedom of speech, and silenced in one instance, they may, with equal right, be silenced in any other instance, where a Ruler shall please to say that he thinks the Prerogative is concerned. The same spirit, that emboldens

boldens a Minister to offer one such invasion, may prompt him to offer one hundred, step by step, as he finds that he can force them upon a pliable People. The natural means to prevent one hundred, is to oppose one.

THE existence of a free Government depends upon the spirit of a free People. Let them convince every aspiring Minister that he shall govern the State upon the constitutional Principles of Liberty and Property. Those natural grants from God to Man. Grants, so justly prized by one of our spirited Nobility, present at rejecting the Money Bill, that he thought himself degraded by accepting titular honour, and would have split his fortune to regain his seat in the lower House, for the defence of Liberty. Thus assuming a dignity, which Monarchs united, can't give.

'Tis observed of the *British Subjects*, that they have great forbearance. And likewise observable, that rigorous oppressors are commonly brought to justice. *Gaveston*, a debauched young reprobate, was banished by *Edward I.* for corrupting the Heir apparent. But having artfully insinuated himself into the Prince's favour, contrary to the advice of the dying King, he recalled him at his accession to the Crown, loaded him with wealth, gave him his Niece in marriage, with counties, towns, castles, and manors in abundance, allowed him to dispose of all offices at *pleasure*, to turn out of employment, whom he thought fit, and to rule with absolute power, in the administration of public affairs. Every step was taken to gratify this insolent libertine, odious to the whole Nation. Alarmed at this extravagant partiality, the two Houses of Parliament insisted upon removing him from Court; and as an honourable banishment,

he

he had the government of *Ireland*, not content with it, he returned to *England*, with new insolence, was by authority of Parliament banished to *France*, afterwards recalled by the King, and, at length, by repeated insolence, he provoked the Barons to hang him.

IMMEDIATELY after his death, the *Spencers* flattered the Monarch, obsequiously gained him, outdid *Gaveston* in pride and avarice, created such general disgust, that they were banished by Parliament; the son turned pirate, particularly against the *English*. They were recalled by the King, in revenge persuaded him to slaughter his Subjects, became universally odious, rendered him unpopular, and thereby unable to protect them, and were then both of them hanged, and *Badoc* the Chancellor, their favourite adherent, killed by the mob.

WE see the fate of *Empson* and *Dudley*, in *Henry* the Seventh's Reign. One of them, *Empson*, was a person of the meanest descent, impudent and shameless, ever boasting of his enormous vices. The other, a man of family, knowing in the Law, and of quick parts, to give the most favourable turn to the worst actions. These two confederates were eternally wronging and robbing the Nation, by the wickedest devices; and thus raised up enemies numberless, who took the first opportunity to bring them both to the gallows, upon the accession of *Henry* VIII.

SEE *Laud*; see *Strafford*; see detestable Lord Chief Justice *Jeffries*, at the Revolution, beseeching the Lord Mayor of *London* to send him to the Tower, in order to save him from the mob, who by beating had almost taken his life, and would have finished it, by tearing him to pieces, had not the Lord Mayor interposed,

terposed, not through favour, but in confidence of seeing him hanged, as he must have been, had he not quickly died in prison.

SEE Ministers in Queen *Ann's* Reign secretly plotting to bring in the Pretender, and save their lives by flight, in the next Reign. Deceivers or betrayers, oppressors, and corruptors, never escape universal hatred, and seldom escape justice from one hand or other. More calm, and more safe, more reputable, and more eligible, more pleasing to God, and more useful to man, is a life of integrity and candour, that neither prompts men to oppress or deceive, to pillage or purloin, but animates them with a social and friendly disposition to Civil Society and Human Race.

BESIDES the extraordinary measures pursued in the Barrack affair, and the Money Bill; what insidious steps were taken last Session of Parliament, in relation to the Linnen Bill. Easily understood by perusing a judicious pamphlet written with Sense and Spirit, entitled, *Some facts and observations relative to the fate of the late Linnen Bill.* * There are also many Gentlemen, who know the various artful and coloured steps, that were taken this winter to bring such of our Linnen Statutes, as are perpetual, into the power of some men, who at the most could have done no better for us, than to have returned them as we gave them, perpetual; and possibly, would not have done that.

SUCH is the State of affairs in this Kingdom, at a period when Writers and Courtiers would persuade us to place unlimited trust and confidence in the very man that has brought them to that State. This man of dark and dangerous Talents is set up, and recommended for leader and director general of a popular assembly

* THIS Pamphlet may be had of R. GRIFFITHS, in
Pater-Noster-Row. (Price 6d.)

bly, upon whose integrity, vigour and wisdom, our All depends. What dupes must these men be, who take such barefaced steps to make us slaves? All attempts upon Liberty have began with hypocrisy, previous to force. 'Tis perhaps difficult to give an instance, where the mask has been so quickly and boldly taken off, as in our days by an amphibious politician, that seemingly gave himself to God, as it were for the more easy destruction of man.

THIS particular article, that of a national confidence dangerously placed, deserves the readers attention. If a series of conduct in any man shall appear prejudicial to the Public, or shall give them just cause to suspect that his views are dangerous; they must be void of common sense, e'er they can bring themselves to rely upon him. Nay, they cannot if they would; they may indeed give themselves up to him; but as they can't trust him, 'tis impossible that they can rely upon him. The conduct and character of this man forbid any reliance. Property in strictness he has not; his revenue is but a trust estate, wagers assigned for publick service, assigned for the support of Religion, now openly attacked, to build him a temporal Kingdom. For this purpose, its own revenue is turned against itself. He is not by any landed property embarked with the welfare of the Nation; he can only be considered as a public Officer, and not as a good one, or it had not been thus necessary to inspect his public conduct.

A Primate at the head of a national Church, where many large endowments and influences follow his station, merely in virtue of his ecclesiastical dignity, is in possession of greater power, than can possibly fall to the share of any man of whatsoever rank or fortune among us. Besides that evident superiority which such a Primate must have over his fellow subjects, should

it so happen, that he shares one third part in the Government of his Country, how must this extend his influence? Suppose that he, being one of three Governors, should in effect engross the power of the three; would he not then be formidable? Suppose that in consequence of these powers, he should gain sway in an upper House of Parliament, and find means to get some put in, and some put out of a Privy Council; would he not then arrive at a dangerous growth; suppose such a man should, for a course of years, enjoy these extraordinary powers, would he not then become more experienced, more cunning in his various proceedings, better supported with dependencies, better able to oppose constitutional measures, and still further enabled to exercise dominion over his fellow subjects, to corrupt them, to buy them, to distress and enslave them? When arrived at this imperious state, connected to few individuals, and scarce at all connected to the highest interests of the Community, but, on the contrary, the increase of his power depending upon the increase of prostitution, what must a free People expect? How often have we seen a State undone by a subject, when he had outgrown his condition? The wise *Romans* struggled hard, and often, to prevent it; and they were undone, their liberty died, when they could not prevent it. States every where, to preserve their independence, make it their first care to preserve a balance of power among their neighbours. Such due balance is quite necessary among Subjects who intend to be free. Would any disinterested member of society, would any rational person of sound mind and memory contribute to increase the power of such a man? There is but one way left to increase it; give him All. Countrymen, this subject is worthy of your serious consideration, should an aspiring adventurer, thus circumstanced, gain an ascendant in your lower House

House of Parliament, then the power of the Nation would be in his hands.

How could you deliver yourselves, having added power that you could not subtract? Would not every man, Lay and Ecclesiastic, be brought into a state of servitude? His supremacy would tend to render him absolute over the Prelates and Clergy themselves; a kind of protestant Pope. What livings could any Bishop bestow, without his leave? They must be subject to his Bulls and his Reservations, for exigence of state, to bait his hook, to bribe some Member, who had a son or a brother in the Church. Not even a Translation or a Faculty could be obtained, without some view to his interest. His papal prerogatives must every where take place, and our Prelates dread and worship him. Some job must be done by them, whenever any thing was to be done for them. A vassalage not suitable to the times, our Prelates, thank God, have raised their minds to the proper pitch; they too well understand the value of Liberty, Civil and Religious; to make condescensions unworthy of good sense or good conscience.

WOULD not every independant man rather live in freedom, by his plow or his shop, than deliberately bring himself into a state of fear and servility?

My Countrymen, have confidence in your strength; but do not wantonly put it to dangerous and unnecessary trials. Remember the Speech made by Colonel *Titus* upon the famous Bill of Exclusion.

“ **METHINKS**, I hear a Lion in the Lobby roar.
 “ The question is, shall we shut the doors to keep
 “ him out, or shall we let him in, that we may
 “ turn him out again?”

LET us therefore duly weigh consequences, before we make important changes ; since the Accession of the illustrious House of *Hanover*, public measures have been alike calmly and successfully carried on, through one certain plain channel that we all know. Why then shall that channel be altered to humour one man, or make the fortune of another. Long experience shews, that by minds united in a reliance upon Gentlemen of landed interest, every necessary measure has been followed to maintain our Constitution, to support the Crown, and give full content to the Subject ; who are as easily contented, as any Freemen upon the Globe. The *salus populi* is their aim, and for this righteous purpose, they desire nothing more, than to preserve the balance of power, where GOD and Nature placed it. Divert it out of its natural channel, and the lofty title of him that engrosses it will not ease the loins of him that bears the oppression. Names do not vary things. Had you called *Strafford*, *Devonshire*, *Strafford* had been an oppressor still. Call *Devonshire Strafford*, *Devonshire* is still the upright Whig.

THE spirit, at present, is either to lead or drive ; partly one, partly the other ; so near the precipice, that it is high time to look before us. The unnatural Strength accrued to our invader by certain obvious alliances, which infinity of accidents have caused to center in him, seem to have turned his brain ; and as madmen do more in their fits, than they were able to do whilst they had their senses ; so his exploits, exceeding all probability, seem to have given him, or his rash adherents, the confidence to think, that he is able to weather every storm that he raises ; hence is he daring and dangerous ; but the more dangerous, still the stronger is the necessity for opposing him. Oppose him, or worship him, other choice

is

is not left you. These momentous, these feeling considerations, for 'tis now come to real feeling among us, must open the eyes of every man that has eyes; and raise the spirit of every man that has spirit.

OUR Whig allies on to'ther side of the water will quickly see how deeply they are concerned in the measures that have been taken here. Measures not below the consideration of his Majesty's best friends. Every corruption carries its own remedy. The real interests of both Kingdoms are intimately connected, and in this question alike concerned. 'Tis better to foresee evils, when it may be possible to prevent them, than to labour under them, when it may be impossible to remedy them.

WE are all in like danger, without distinction of persons. What then will Gentlemen gain who have been unwarily wheedled to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage? If there are such; the man bribed will perish as effectually and as quickly, as the man that is above corruption.

WHAT a mortal wound did Liberty receive in a neighbouring Protestant Country, by the dire ambition of a Godless Prelate? When such a man shuts up his bible, and opens his warehouse of Politics, guard against some dreadful hurricane, all hands on board; all resolute to save the Vessel. What a Country was *Denmark*? As free as ours, until an * intriguing Bishop of *Copenhagen*, practised with the Court, to assist him in betraying the Nation. Then cajoled a party in their House of Commons, insinuated himself into their confidence, persuaded them to rely upon him, and combining with *Nanson*, a corrupt Statesman, stole their Liberties from them. Being already

* See Preface to Lord *Molesworth's* account of *Denmark*.

on the watch to destroy them, in order to raise his own power, and fill his pockets, he artfully laid hold of some rash expressions made use of by one of the Nobility, in presence of the Commons, fomented their passions, and the night being too far advanced for execution of his design, he by Brigues and Messages, kept up their resentment 'till morning; then he and detestable *Nanson* led them early to Court; and, under colour of friendship, e'er they had time for recollection prevailed upon them to resign the constitution of their Country to the Monarch, and, in an hour, made him as absolute as the Turk: The Nobles being carried in the torrent, and compelled to join in the parricide. The City Gates for this purpose having been locked up, and a Massacre threatened, to extort compliance.

WHAT is it that from time to time encourages profligate men to these astonishing thefts? 'Tis nothing but a prospect of mean acquiescence in the People. Evidence of this truth may be had every day, in every Country.

HIS Majesty's deputies come hither quietly to do his Majesty's business. And his Majesty's Subjects left to themselves, uninterrupted by aspiring factious men, would joyfully do his Majesty's business, with as much alacrity and expedition, as any ruler could possibly require. They have given continual proof of this dutiful disposition. How did they behave upon the late Rebellion? 'To a man for the House of *Hanover*; all ready to arm for that Protestant House; their then Governor knows, that they were as ready to arm, as he could wish them. They have always been well affected. They are still so, and will continue so. Whilst his Majesty's interest, or his inclinations, are pursued, there cannot be any degree of dissatisfaction between

between him and his People. But they would not be Subjects worthy of such a Monarch, if they were insensible of the conduct of their rulers. Protection they deserve, and are persuaded that they shall always find it, under the wings of that desireable family placed on the Throne. 'Tis the end of Government. They know, that they cannot change their Monarch for a better. They do not wish for any change. Having already a King, such as they would chuse upon a free Election, they would in reality expose life and fortune to prevent a change. He has the hearts of them all. They know, that they must and ought to have Government, and it is their earnest desire to support his Government. What inclination, what end, could such men have to oppose the hands in whom Government is lodged? None possibly, but * * * * treatment from those hands, which they rely upon his gracious Majesty to prevent. What room then can there be to let loose the ambition of an enterprizing Prelate upon such a People? Were the will of that Prelate to become a Law, he could not put the affairs of the Nation in a State more advantageous to the Monarch, than they were at the commencement of his usurpation. Why then should experiments be tried, which can tend to no good? Why should any administration take upon their shoulders the incumbrance of a meddling Churchman, when all content may be fully preserved, only by a nod? ordering that Churchman to be quiet. A method, gentle and safe, judicious and equitable, to take on behalf of a nation, justly entitled to the mildest treatment, because they are ever ready to give every proof of the firmest attachment to their Sovereign, and of the warmest affection to *Great-Britain*.

As we are born with infirmities, it is true, that misunderstandings might possibly arise, without faults
on

on any side. Far am I from admitting that this is the case; but were it so, that mere misapprehension of things should fix a jealousy in the minds of the People, and fatal warmth of temper should cause an irreconcileable difference between a Nation and a Prelate; what a Prelate must he be, that is above condescension? Can he think himself superior to the Nation, and of moment enough to be put in competition with the quiet of the Nation? He will not surely speak like *Wolsey*, *Ego & Rex meus*. If pride and obstinacy so far prevail, that he resolves to think so; will it be sound policy for men in power to distress a Kingdom for his personal gratification? The more he perseveres, the more unworthy to be gratified.

THE very act of perseverance must increase our suspicions. To gratify him in his boundless views, is impossible. Composition, weakly talked of, there can be none. Who that is free, will compound to put himself into a state of servility? What can he have, in return for his freedom? The Nation therefore must unavoidably oppose this man to the last; oppose him upon constitutional principles, but oppose him in earnest. He may advantageously, with respect to his quiet, his character, and his security, relinquish his lawless pursuits; but the Nation cannot recede from support of their constitutional rights; unless they would give up their All. Giving way to an invader, is giving up their All. Our ancestors might as well have surrendered at discretion, to a *Laud*, or a *Strafford*; as we may surrender at discretion to a man that we think worse disposed than the worst of them. A man, whose continued craft and double dealing, whose **** example, and indirect attempts of every kind, has fully convinced the Nation, that they never had so destructive an enemy in it.

it. Distressing matter of observation it must be to our friends in *England*, to hear that the Protestants of this Nation are set at variance, to please a godless Bishop. Such news will be well received at *Rome*, and *St. Omers*.

WHAT can be more dangerous than a Churchman in the highest station, under all the political advantages which this man enjoys ; hardly arrived to the midst of life ; smooth and enterprizing, facetious and affable, secret and artful, to hook, and link, and lead a faction, with *Laud's* whole ambition, and more than *Laud's* temper and cunning ? When any age produces such a man, the Nation have urgent call to look to themselves. Let Constituents, particularly at such a time, impart their sentiments to their Representatives ; then observe their conduct, and thereby judge who are fit to represent them again. A time of election will come, when it does, remember the rich men who would have sold you ; nay, who has sold you ; and remember the men of smaller fortune, who have saved you. Be not cajoled by Representatives, who pretend to have acted upon judgment in giving up your rights, for a Pension, a Title, a Seat at the Council Board, or a Commission. You cannot be at a loss to find a man that has honesty and spirit : And you must be void of those qualities yourselves, if you do not chuse him. Nothing hurts you more than backwardness ; openly and publickly shew spirit, avow your Principles, then your Neighbours know whom they have to rely upon. Let every Elector, at every Election, consider, that his Vote may be a casting one upon that Election ; that the Vote of his Representative, may be a casting voice in Parliament and thereby determine his safety or his destruction. Can the frowns of a landlord, or the flattery of a prostitute ; can a rich man's purse, which I am not to share, a purse, which

which would be my disgrace and self-condemnation, if I did share; can his dinner, which I do not want; can his wine, designedly given to seduce and intoxicate; can his solicitations, his address, his promises, which he generally gives with design to break; can these, or any, or all of these low considerations, induce us, Freeholders, to betray ourselves and ruin Posterity; by a Vote in compliance given against our judgment, given perhaps, to gratify a man that has privately sold us. Freeholders, you are not in chains to any man; weigh characters, and make the best choice. Let it not be in the power of any man, a second time, to betray your interests. Consider, your Vote is not a compliment due to any man upon earth. It is not due as interest money for debt; nor do any ties of gratitude authorize a breach of Public Trust, and warrant you to give a public vote, in return for a private favour, properly payable in its own coin, and conferred perhaps, with design to extort that Vote, which could not otherwise be obtained. You are to chuse a man to defend you from oppression; the man that you chuse, is intrusted with your lives, your religion, your property, your All. He that attempts to awe you, or to bias you, does, in effect, attempt to chuse for you, and thereby gives strong evidence, that he designs to betray and sell you. Else, why does he not suffer you freely to chuse for yourselves in the most important affair of your whole lives? How shall he presume to direct your choice, when you yourselves are the persons so deeply concerned in the event? He must have his sinister views; he would not otherwise attempt such usurpation. You do not see him assiduous to serve you, where he is not in interest concerned. Make therefore your own conclusions, and consider that instead of being thus driven, which is a kind of insult upon your persons, and reproach to your understandings; it is your province to support the men, that you believe are truly disposed

to

to support the Nation. Not impenitent sinners, who have betrayed their Country? Not Absentees.

AN instance of judicious choice in a neighbouring nation is worthy to be remembered for ever. The Borough of *Hull* in the Reign of King *Charles II.* chose *Andrew Marvel*, a young Gentleman of little or no fortune, and maintained him at *London*, for the service of the Public. His understanding, integrity, and spirit, were dreadful to the then infamous administration. Persuaded that he would be theirs, for properly asking; they sent his old school-fellow, the Lord Treasurer *Danby*, to renew acquaintance with him in his garret. At parting, the Lord Treasurer, out of pure affection, slipped into his hand an order upon the Treasury for a thousand pounds, and then away to his chariot. *Andrew*, looking at the paper, calls after the Treasurer, my Lord, I request another moment. Up again to the garret, and *Jack* the servant boy was called. *Jack*, child, what had I for dinner yesterday? Don't you remember, Sir? you had the little shoulder of mutton that you ordered me to bring from a woman in the market. Very right, child. What have I for dinner to day? Don't you know Sir, that you bid me lay by the blade bone to broil? 'Tis so, child, very right, go away.

MY Lord, do you hear that? *Andrew's* dinner is provided? There's your piece of paper, I want it not. I know the sort of kindness intended. I live here to serve my Constituents, the Ministry may seek men for their purpose, I am not one.

MR. *Marvel* indeed, was not a corrupt one, he daily opposed a vicious Court, exposed their measures, by his speeches and writings, opened the eyes of his countrymen,

countrymen, and had considerable share in making way for the Revolution.

VICE, falsehood, corruption, fear, and servility, have in our days been assembled to work upon the passions of different men. In a late fulsome dedication to the Lord Lieutenant, it is represented as a marvellous thing to conceive that we are not afraid of **L**--- **G**--- and the **P**-----.

WHEN two such men, without a foot of inheritance in this Kingdom, perhaps without an acre in the next, aspire at general dominion, there may be cause to fear on behalf of the Nation. But to talk that we individuals, as freemen their equals, as valuable Members of Society, their superiors, should fear them, is to tell us, that we should guard against an increase of their lawless power. Their minions should fear to insinuate that we ought to fear them. God forbid that men contending for Liberty, and the true interest of the *Hanover Succession*, should fear openly to support the one and the other. A man, who fears to declare himself, is not worthy to have been born in our climate. A man slow to do his part, backward to do his utmost, when his Country is assaulted by vicious men, robs Society of the service that he owes them. If this low instrument, an *Bireling* writer, treats Gentlemen with such haughty menace, when seeking power for his master; how would the master treat them, if his power were established equal to his ambition? Let one of his aspiring masters, his *scarlet master*, timely fear, that his behaviour in this Kingdom will follow him to the next, and shew that discerning and spirited people, the necessity of keeping him in early subjection: *Englishmen*, I esteem and honour you, look to the man.

EVERY pamphlet, published in favour of these modern oppressors, abounds with slavish tenets, with unconstitutional maxims, with falsehoods, with deceit, sophistry, or vicious principles ; undermining the constitution, aspersing our Representatives, for asserting the rights of their constituents, and sometimes laying aside that respect justly due to our Monarch, as a King, and as a man of probity. Look into their several writings, and you need no other proof of a mercenary pen, groundless claim, and wicked design ; although numbers of them are said to have been with great industry dispersed through the two Kingdoms, under covers, as for his Majesty's service. Like quack pamphlets given gratis, to cover fraud, and seduce ignorant people ; to deceive and pillage the Public.

THESE writers care not what becomes of their Prince, if they can but compass the designs of their faction. Our constitution entitles us *of right*, to the frequent sitting of Parliaments, for the framing of Laws, and redressing of grievances ; yet do these prostitute writers threaten us with the disuse of Parliaments, unless we purchase the use of them by taxes. * 'Tis intimated that if the Revenue, which has been granted in perpetuity, were sufficient to support the Civil and Military Establishments, there would be an end of Parliaments. That is, in fact, an end of Liberty. What insinuations more unjust and presumptuous, can be cast upon a Prince, that never wronged a Subject ?

THIS doctrine, with more cunning than foresight, is laid down to convince us that in policy we ought not to grudge an increase of the Civil and Military Establishment, and other expences of the State ; since

since this increase makes it necessary to call frequent Parliaments, which 'tis suggested would be unnecessary for the service of the Crown, if the Revenue already granted in perpetuity were sufficient to answer these ends. Were this assertion well founded, it would be an indisputable reason why we should give no more than is necessary, and only for a short period, since the partizans of men in power, thus publickly inform us, that it is only for the sake of our annual Revenues, that we are suffered to enjoy our inherent Rights.

PARLIAMENTS are by this Court Writer represented as useful to the Crown, no otherwise than by filling the Treasury; by collecting money for the King. The several other constitutional parts of their office, such as, giving their advice to his Majesty, redressing of National Grievances, making Laws for the well-being of the Community, curbing state-oppressors, and impeaching mighty criminals, are, it seems, useless to the Crown, and perhaps not very pleasing to some of the looser Subjects, whose desires, hopes and fears relate only to this world.

LAUD and *Strefford* did not thus, at the dawn of their usurpations, suffer their poisonous principles and secret intentions to appear in print; rampant as they were, with all the partial aid of King and Star Chamber, they did not in seven years raise their slavish tenets higher than the modern tenets are at first setting out; though contrary to the sense and disposition of our Monarch, whose wishes are known to terminate in the welfare of his People. *CHARLES*'s Popish Queen, stimulated by Priests and Bigotry, could not pick out keener instruments to train our *English* youth to slavery, than writers that we see attempt to support our modern junto. Humble sycophants, betrayers

betrayers of Liberty, avowing measures, which, reduced to practice, would be the most atrocious Breach of Public trust, the blackest crime of parricide towards the freest Constitution. What use would there be in a Civil or Military Establishment, if we had not a Parliament? One would be an Engine of oppression, the other, an assistant Engine to enforce the oppression. The simple, the vague State of nature, would be infinitely preferable.

AMAZING efforts, in the midst of an established freedom! But it is in the days of prosperity, that Nations are commonly undone. Sometimes immediately, sometimes gradually undone. Upon our many past emergencies, when Whigs had the open enemy to oppose, by vigour and union they succeeded. Now they are inveigled, deceived, and divided, by the craft and cabal of such men as Whigs ever detested. Long have we foreseen that Whigs could never be ruined but by themselves. It was not perhaps foreseen, that any of them would consent to let a spiritual intruder gain footing in their House of Commons, to cut the tree at once by the root.

PARDON me reader. Why do I call them Whigs? It is a slip of my hasty pen. We judge of Whigs by their actions? not judge of actions by men or characters.

THE Whig lives in every State; but wishes to live only in a free State. He claims no right to himself, but what he is willing to give to his Neighbour. He is not listed in sects, by sounds, nor kept in them by prejudice, his mind is not contracted by systems, nor frownd by bigots; it is open to God and Nature. He is not attached to person or faction, but to things;

F to

to Justice, to Liberty, to Virtue, to his Country. He adheres to the men who adhere to these; and adheres to them no longer than they adhere to these. With like contempt of promises and menaces, unawed by power, he is attached to these. Not lurking, as a drone, to reap what others sow; he chearfully acts his part in Society: He does what he can; he endeavours within his sphere to promote the general welfare. No matter what you call him; what his rank, his profession, or the title of his religion, this is the Whig; and many such, to their immortal honour, has providence raised up for the defence of *Ireland*, at this Day of exigence.

THESE are the Whig principles; upon these stand the Revolution and the *Hanover* Succession; upon these principles only can Liberty and Property be supported. Men actuated by Whiggism will oppose evil measures under every administration, without regard to the names or persons of the actors. Else they do not act upon Whig principles. Corruption, venality and stretch of power, may answer an occasional purpose, and prop the tottering seat of an evil Minister; but they are destructive of every thing praise worthy. They destroy many political Constitutions; but neither renew nor preserve any.

THE open foe we can oppose, the secret one takes us as a thief in the night by surprize; one acts with some appearance of honour, t'other with all infamy. One rouses us to defence; t'other stabs us a sleep. To oppose open violence, providence directs open force; to oppose corruption, he arms us with Spirit and Virtue. Divine qualities, which for this reason have been copiously and laboriously, artfully and wickedly decried by the late hirelings among us.

CAUSES

CAUSES impenetrable to us may possibly move some Gentlemen of probity to take this amazing side. If such have been unwarily taken by the deceitful *Siren*, they will stand astonished at themselves, when they look back at the lengths they have gone. Although all arts are used to suppress present reflection ; hereafter they will see, I hope not feel, their error. Example teaches caution. All dissimulation, all craft, all coquetry, all love tricks displayed ; no species of deceit or flattery, untried to debauch you. Then the scene being closed, successfully or unsuccessfully, you are undone, you are scornfully and deservedly treated as a cast harlot. If your Country is enslaved, so are you. If it escapes, you make the lowest figure in it.

BY no method can we be destroyed, but by divisions among ourselves. The body of our Country have already convinced our neighbours that we are honest ; let the rest of us shew them that we are wise. Error is inseparable from human nature ; differences in opinion inseparable from error. It is no shame to err, but it is infamous to persevere. Some may have had improper views ; others may possibly have acted upon judgment ; Gentlemen that did so, may, upon change of Judgment, come to act as we would wish them to do. Then we should receive them with open arms. Coming over to us upon conviction, their minds emerged, will prompt them to repay the Public with double service. Some Gentlemen, that erred in the beginning of life, are now a saving strength to their Country, a glory to their families, and an honour to Human Race. It may be the case of others : *Paul* had once been a persecutor.

A man by nature intended as an instrument for *Cataline*, hid in the Womb of time until our Age, then unfortunately breaks forth. His early motions strike us with matter of observation; the more we observe, the more we suspect; we are slow to complain, and hope the best; but still, every moment, find new reason to fear the worst. We gradually see this man unite with a Person dangerous as himself; alike crafty and ambitious; we see their combined measures tend to one point, to assume the total rule of the Nation; for this purpose debauch the Subject, brow-beat those that they can't debauch, make every incident a job, and concert to break the measures of Parliament.

AT the opening of this last Sessions of Parliament, the Commons began with passing a Bill of ample Supplies for the Government, and an other for discharge of the National Debt. Whilst these were in *England*, they passed the Heads of a Bill, as formerly mentioned, to reimburse the Nation for the embezzlements of the Surveyor General; one Revenue Bill; one for continuing several temporary Laws near expiring, and several others of public utility; then proceeded to some considerations, about Tillage, Planting, and other national Affairs.

THE Bills being returned from *England*, that one relative to the Debt was rejected upon change in the Preamble; soon afterwards there was an adjournment as usual at *Christmas*, (to 15th *January*) on which day L --- G----- moved for a further adjournment of the House, until the 5th of *February*; signifying that such adjournment was at the desire of his G-----; and as an instance of respect to his Majesty's Representative, they adjourned unanimously. During the

the adjournment the Master of the Rolls, the Prime Serjeant, and the Quarter Master General, were removed from their Employments, and Mr. *Boyle*, a Gentleman of very good character, and a relation of the Speaker, was stripped of a Pension, which had been granted him for resigning a former Employment. These are all Members of Parliament, and men remarkable for propriety of behaviour in their Employments, for Zeal to his Majesty, for Patriotism to their Country, and for uncommon Abilities to fill high stations. One of them, thirty years in the Service, and had expended above 4000*l.* in purchasing military preferment. Another, at the Heel of Life, stripped of an Employment, for which he gave more than 12,000*l.* in confidence that a steady Whig, acting upon conscience and Whig principles, must ever be secure of his possessions throughout every Administration under the illustrious House of *Hanover*. These worthy Officers, though in fact only acting upon principle, upon Whig principles, are so misrepresented to his Majesty, that they are discarded; whilst the Surveyor-General, who had injured the Nation, was put into so favourable a light to his Majesty, as to be suffered to sell at full value.

THOSE evil minded men, who have found means to distress and embroil a Kingdom, have still somewhat to consider for their own sakes. They cannot but know, that his Majesty, who is remarkable for integrity, desires to be served by Men of the same principle; he would not have his Servants lay aside their Honesty, when they go into his Service, nor have them discarded, because they retain it. None can foresee better than he does the mischiefs that would accrue to the Public, if upright men, who love him and the Constitution, were put under discouragements

to

to enter into, and spend their Lives in his Service ; and should such men fall under a mistake, which we are often liable to, in judging of constitutional affairs, no breast is more prompt than his to make proper allowance for human frailty. He will never fail, unless from the want of due information, to make such allowance. Although, in the present instance, the Gentlemen who opposed the late measures in Parliament, do not, on that account, need any allowance ; being in that respect, free even from error, their conduct having been constitutional and upright, as sure as we have a Constitution that warrants freedom of Parliament.

IMPORTANT truths may for a time be concealed from his Royal Ear ; they will not, they cannot always be concealed. And when he comes to see, that his most faithful Subjects, and his best Servants, have through sinister views been traduced, as disaffected to his Person and Government ; how will he think of the men who combine to deceive him, whilst they live in luxury by his bounty ?

SOON after the removal of these Gentlemen from his Majesty's Service, and before the House of Commons could meet, according to the desired adjournment, a Proclamation issued (*January 30th*) to prorogue the Parliament to the 2d of *April*. By which means the several Bills sent to *England* were all lost ; and among them, one for the support of the Protestant Charter-Schools, which the Lord Lieutenant had recommended to the Parliament, as a matter of Importance.

By this unexpected prorogation, the Parliament were deprived of all means to lay before their Monarch the State of his Kingdom. Such Representation
is

is fruitless from a Private Person (how respectable soever) and it could not come from a branch of the Legislature.

An extraordinary crisis is this, to which the best of Subjects, for so we may truly call the Protestants of *Ireland*, are driven.

WHEN such steps as these are taken, vain it is for Rulers to imagine, that they can, by Proclamation, stop every mouth, and suppress every complaint. The mouth of a Whig, who sees his Country grieved, cannot be stopped, but by stopping his breath. There is but one natural and effectual method to prevent murmur, remove the cause.

WHAT Viceroy, since the Revolution, has seen such a sudden and general discontent spread itself among a loyal People, committed to his Charge? Jealousies, fears, and feuds, prevailing at this day, throughout an whole Kingdom, where content and union appeared in every countenance, until the Grand Spiritual Tempter was let loose to harass the Subject, and embroil the State?

IN *July*, the wicked author of the *Candid Inquiry*, published his ensnaring Pamphlet to destroy Religion and Virtue. Autumn was spent in caressing, flattering, and soliciting Members of Parliament; and attempting, by any means, to obtrude partizans into the House of Commons. The scene from opening of the Parliament to the prorogation of it, has been simply and fairly represented; as near as we can collect from Gentlemen of the best reputation, that had a knowledge of the several transactions. Thus without regard to form or decoration, you have

from

From a plain and public-spirited writer, the memoirs of six months, that will not be forgotten in a century.

THERE are Gentlemen still alive, who remember the latter end of Queen ANN's reign, when deep designs were artfully formed by insidious underlings; for a time unseen, or unobserved; although they moved the whole machine; corrupt measures taken, arts used for gaining by surprize, and otherwise, a parliamentary sanction for getting money into the Hands of courtiers, to furnish their creatures for carrying on their Elections.

* Members bribed not only for an whole Session, but new bribes for particular Votes. Animosities kindled, Patriots vilified, the House of Commons libelled, and their constitutional proceedings traduced by sycophants and sycophant-writers; new language introduced, prerogative stretched, outcries against freedom of the Press; arbitrary Judges, usurping the known legal power of Juries, to awe the Subject into silence, and thus ingratiate themselves, by concealing the abuses of an Administration. Supporters of the Constitution misrepresented, and stigmatized as disloyal; honest men removed from posts of trust and profit, from council and from government of Counties; Pulpits defiled to sanctify abuse of power, and Sheriffs occasionally struck, to support indirect measures of wicked Ministers, who were secret enemies to the Protestant Succession, and apparent enemies to the liberties of their Country.

Two men, who lately took all possible pains to corrupt our morals, have now found a court expedient

* See *Burnet's History*.

ent to deliver themselves from all present restraint and fear of Parliament. That great Court instituted partly to redress grievances, and call to account overgrown criminals, who are above the reach of ordinary justice. How soon his Majesty will be pleased to hear the sense of his people, in the constitutional manner, from their Representatives in Parliament, we know not. For his sake and ours, the Nation is earnest to be heard. As earnest to disclose the state of the Kingdom as the junto are to conceal it. The true cause of their earnest desire for that prorogation.

THEIR designs must be of the blackest dye, who represent the Protestants of this Nation to be disaffected, and the Members of Parliament, who oppose their measures, to be seditious, and spirited up by a Popish faction.

WHAT malice can exceed theirs, who represent us as disaffected to the King, and as disposed to shake off our dependance upon *England*; because we are not so weak, as to depend upon them, and so mean, as to make compliances to them, which our common Master would not expect? 'Tis not probable, that any one Protestant in *Ireland* has it in his thoughts to withdraw his dependance. Nor is there perhaps a Papist in the Nation, softish enough to cherish that prospect. Men of that persuasion may possibly wish to see a Popish monarch on the British Throne; but can have no view of shaking off the national dependence. On some we must depend, on none so wisely as on those who treat us like brethren, and contribute to maintain our Liberties.

THE three Estates of the Realm tuned to one another, make admirable harmony, stretch one string

G

beyond its proper pitch, or leave one out, and you destroy the whole concert. Incroach upon the Rights and Liberties of the People, or of their Representatives, and you break the strength that is to support your Monarch, consequently you abridge the real power and interest of the Crown, which is only to be supported by the strength and treasure of his People.

DURING the present interval of Parliament, our grand seducers will have time to re-study the art of intriguing, time to poison the minds, and foul the hands of our Countrymen.

WHENEVER they venture to renew their atrocious attempts upon our virtue, we should consider them as offering the highest indignity that one man can offer to another. No language, no insult, can exceed it. God preserve the King and People.



F I N I S.

